

DIOCESAN PRESS SERVICE

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

EPISCOPAL CHURCH CENTER • 815 SECOND AVENUE • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

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MAR 24 1987

February 5, 1987

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FUTURE AND PAST

SHARE WCC AGENDA

DPS 87027

GENEVA (DPS, Feb. 5) -- Meeting at the Ecumenical Centre here, Jan. 16-24, the 158-member World Council of Churches Central Committee had both the ecumenical future and the ecumenical past on its agenda.

This was the first meeting as a member of the Central Committee for Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning. He is the only delegate from the Episcopal Church and is assigned to the unit committee that deals with peace and justice, racism, church aid and development issues. Two accredited observers, the Rev. William Norgren, ecumenical officer, and the Rev. Charles Cesaretti, Anglican relations deputy, also participated in the work of the Central Committee.

The committee spent some time considering the Council Seventh Assembly, to be held in February 1991 in Canberra, Australia, and elected a 21-member assembly planning committee to work on it. Also looked at were the process and an end-of-decade convocation on "justice,

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peace, and the integrity of creation," and a world conference on mission and evangelism, planned for 1989. The Roman Catholic Church was invited to "co-sponsor" the convocation so that it is a "real act of common witness to the reign of Christ for our world, present and future."

Looking back, the committee noted the anniversary of the birth of the late U.S. Civil-rights activist and clergyman, Martin Luther King; the 25th anniversary of the reception into council membership of Russian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Polish Orthodox; and the 1200th anniversary of the Seventh Ecumenical Council.

Virtually unanimously in both cases, the committee approved two public statements — on nuclear disarmament and southern Africa.

The first urges the U.S. and Soviet Union to immediately halt nuclear testing. Its three-part appeal urges a "moratorium on nuclear tests as a provisional measure" to enable negotiations towards a comprehensive test ban treaty, "agreements on substantial reduction of strategic weapons and elimination of medium range missiles with a definite timetable," and "All necessary steps to prevent the development of space weapons, and to strengthen the terms of the Anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty."

The statement also asks the Soviet Union to resume its nuclear-testing moratorium, France to "stop forthwith" nuclear testing in the Pacific, and the U.S. to "respond positively to the initiatives of the Soviet on moratorium on nuclear testing, to review its decision to exceed the Salt II ceilings [on certain weapons], and to reconsider its Strategic Defense Initiative," its proposed space-based, anti-missile defense system often referred to as the "star wars" program.

On southern Africa, the committee reaffirmed that "apartheid stands condemned by the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that justice and peace in southern Africa depends on the eradication of this racist and evil system." (Eds: Statement attached.)

It also reaffirmed UN Resolution 435 as "the only basis for peace and independence in Namibia," and expressed support for "Swapo (South West Africa People's Organization) as the authentic representative of the the people of Namibia."

It deplored the "ongoing destablization of the Frontline States [bordering South Africa]...by South Africa and its surrogates, the wanton destruction of their infrastructure, and the imposition of counter-sanctions by South Africa on the region."

It welcomed "the intensification of efforts of the churches outside southern Africa, many of which are moving from advocacy with their governments to taking concrete divestment and disinvestment measures of their own funds."

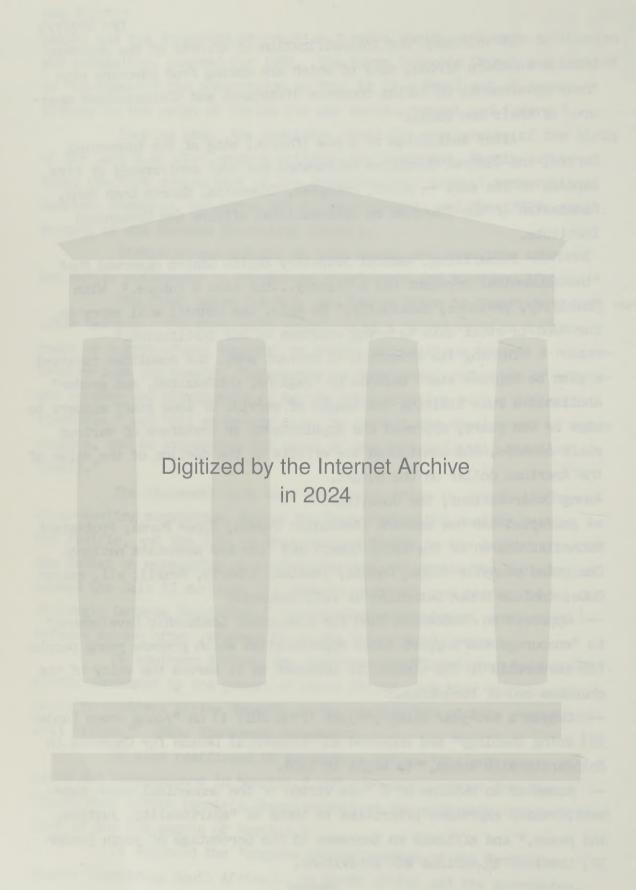
After dedication of a new (fourth) wing of the Ecumenical Centre, the Central Committee celebrated the 40th anniversary of five aspects of its work -- youth, refugees, Ecumenical Church Loan Fund, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs and Ecumenical Institute.

Summarizing, General Secretary Emilio Castro observed that "the ecumenical movement has a history...but also a future." With "humility, patience, continuity," he said, the Council will carry on, for "God is still able to bring charisms to our institution."

Turning its attention to current work, the committee received a plan to improve staff balance by "regions, confessions, and gender" abolished a rule limiting the length of service of some staff members to nine or ten years, approved the appointments or transfers of various staff members, and considered the effects of the decline of the value of the American dollar on the budget.

Among Other Actions, The Committee:

- -- accepted two new members (Methodist Church, Upper Burma; Protestant Methodist Church of the Ivory Coast) and five new associate national Christian councils (Cuba, Gambia, Jamaica, Liberia, Brazil; all, except Cuba, include Roman Catholics as full members.)
- -- approved an "Endowment Fund for Ecumenical Leadership Development" to "encourage and support those opportunities which prepare young people for leadership in the ecumenical movement as it serves the unity of the churches and of humankind."
- Okayed a two-year study project (from July 1) on "young women [under 35] doing theology" and endorsed an "Ecumenical Decade for Churches in Solidarity with Women," to begin in 1988.
- -- Accepted an outline of a "new vision of the ecumenical youth movement," which expresses priorities in terms of "spirituality, justice, and peace," and affirmed an increase in the percentage of youth [under 30] involved in various WCC activities.



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- -- Recommended the the WCC "continue to make an effort to build bridges of relationship between the WCC and evangelical persons, churches and organizations, wherever this is possible."
- -- Endorsed the view that "in view of the drop of almost all major currencies via-a-vis the Swiss franc, the 1988 [WCC] budget must be lower than the 1987 approved budget" of 41.1 million Swiss francs. It also asked for a study of the possibility of locating some WCC staff outside of Geneva and paying them in local currency.
- -- Heard presentations on communicating the WCC, and on the Church in Switzerland, and made Sunday visits to Swiss parishes.

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INTERNATIONAL ANGLICAN

FAMILY NEIWORK TO MEET

DPS 87028

VICTORIA, Australia (DPS, Feb. 5) -- For the first time in the history of the Anglican Communion of Churches, an international Anglican gathering in Singapore in April will discuss changes to "the family" and the Church's response.

Twenty-two people from 17 Provinces of the Anglican Communion will meet April 21-25, just prior to the Anglican Consultative Council. They are members of the "International Family Network" of the Anglican Communion. The Family and Community Network is paralleled by Youth, Peace and Justice, and Development networks of the Anglican Consultative Council.

The Singapore meeting has been arranged for the International Project on Family and Community and is coordinated by the Mission of St. James and St. John, a large Anglican welfare agency, in Melbourne, Australia.

As well as four Australians, there will be representatives at the meeting from Western Samoa, the Middle East, Scotland, New Zealand, Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe, West Indies, Melanesia, Canada, East Asia, Nigeria, Mauritius and Rwanda/Burundi/Zaire.

The delegates will receive first-hand reports on the six Family Project consultancies which will have been completed by then: Hong Kong, Kenya, Philippines, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

They will discuss issues of family and community life, such as sex and gender roles; family and work; tradition and change; and social, political and theological perspectives of family life in modern society.

Tasks for the four-day meeting will include writing a draft statement on the family for consideration by the Lambeth Conference preparation seminar in July 1987.

"The Family" is one of the major themes agreed to by bishops for the 1988 Lambeth Conference.

The Singapore meeting will also determine the text of a book to be published in the second half of 1987 on family ministries.

GEOGRAPHY, LAMBETH HOPES

LINKED, SAYS CANADA PRIMATE

DPS 87029

NEW YORK (DPS, Feb. 5) -- Hopes for the 1988 Lambeth Conference -- the once-a-decade meeting of the world's Anglican bishops --differ mainly on the basis of geography, the head of Canada's Anglican Church said here.

Archbishop Michael Geoffrey Peers, elected last June as primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, spoke at Trinity Wall Street Church, Jan. 22 at a national conference sponsored by the Trinity Institute.

Peers, 51, will chair the ecumenical section of the Lambeth Conference. He said he found that Anglicans anticipating the event divide roughly into three groups.

Europeans and English, he said, want Lambeth to issue a message for the Church in the world, one that is "reasonable, incisive and acceptable."

The second group -- including North Americans, Australians and New Zealanders -- "wants a challenge at the moral level," he said.
"This group's goal concerns the process," Peers said. "It wants all members to be heard," and wants procedures to "be fair, reflect diversity and to leave out no one."

A third group cited by Peers, the Africans, say that neither the message nor the experience is the point but that the conference must be a sign. "The sign must be cryptic and significant, as Jesus' words in the Gospel are a sign and the words of Martin Luther King as a man with a dream are a sign," he said.

Noting his own ecumenical assignment at the international bishops' meeting, the archbishop said, "Ecumenism on one level has been severely damaged by attacks on the Vatican and by the acts of the Vatican in disciplining the archbishop of Seattle and a Catholic University professor," a reference to Catholic Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen and the Rev. Charles Curran. "Ecumenism is responsible for the fact that I as a Christian am interested in this problem, as are other Christians," he added.

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"Ecumenism experiences both enthusiasm and lack of enthusiasm," said the Canadian churchman. "There is a bit of a lack now, but, once again, I am hopeful that we will regain our interest."

Peers, elected to succeed retiring Archbishop Edward W. Scott, said he favors the consecration of women bishops — a much-disputed issue on the Lambeth agenda — and that he opposes capital punishment. He said he sees Christian unity, interfaith understanding and the proclamation of the Gospel "free of the customs of a previous age" as the major challenges he will face as head of Canadian Anglicanism.

Responding to the theme of this year's Trinity Institute, "The Church in a Post-Modern Age," the archbishop said, "We must recognize that an era is changing and that certain assumptions -- for example, the absolutizing of scientific theory -- are being questioned. We haven't a name for what is coming, so we call it 'post-modernism'," he said.

"What we do know is that capitalism and its off shoot, communism, both of which have been motivating factors in different nations, are declining," Peers commented. Inevitable progress is ending for us in the West, and in Russia it is the same. The capacity to engage people's allegiance is like banked fires rather than flames."

Saying the world is in a time of transition, he observed, "Some hope that spiritual truth will now have its inning. I am hopeful of that, but I am not optimistic. With (the late English Archbishop) William Temple, I believe that ultimately God reigns. There is a kind of optimism that gives hope to all of us — to (South African Archbishop) Desmond Tutu, for example."

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Eds.: Note: Enclosed in this mailing is a copy of a insert from the latest Anglican Information concerning the Lambeth Conference.



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'CONSTRUCTIVE PROTEST'

LAUNCHES UTO DRIVE

DPS 87030

NEW YORK (DPS, Feb. 5) -- "In Thanksgiving for the gifts of Independence, Loyalty, Determination, Love and Joy that God in His Grace has given me and to other women as well," Carol Toombs of Rye, N.Y., has presented \$25,000 to the Memorial and Gift Fund of the United Thank Offering.

Toombs, who served as UTO Treasurer for the Diocese of New York from 1980-1986, was deeply disturbed by the news that the UTO Committee had decided to set aside \$1 million from the 1986, 1987 and 1988 Offerings to build up the principal of the Fund, which covers national committee expenses and interpretive materials.

Traditionally, all the money given in to the Offerings has been granted to projects benefiting the poor and needy at home and abroad. Last year, 138 projects received \$2,115,073.86 in grants.

Toombs felt it "unconscionable," however, that money should be transferred from the Blue Boxes of "rich and poor alike" when there are "those of us who can do more."

Therefore, as a kind of constructive protest, she made her gift and issued a challenge: "I do not believe that I am the only rich woman who cares about UTO...I think we, as a group, have the capacity to raise \$25,000 from each of ten women. I further think we can raise \$10,000 from each of ten women and \$5,000 from each of ten women and probably \$1,000 from another 25."

Betty Clarke, Province V chairwoman of UTO and chairwoman of the Memorial and Gift Trust Fund, said, "The generous gift of Carol Toombs is the challenge needed to convince others of the long-range benefits of this fund." The fund must be large enough so that its investment income will cover the expenses of the UTO Committee, which is composed of volunteers who have national obligations in both the administrative and granting process; and will meet the cost of producing a variety of UTO materials which are sent to all parishes, free.

The goal is \$1 million by the July 1988 Triennial, which marks the kickoff to preparations for the UTO's 100th birthday in 1989. Since the Fund was established at Triennial 1982, however, private contributions to the principal have totaled about \$23,000.



It is clear that due to rising costs attributed to inflation and decreasing income attributed not only to declining interest rates but also disinvestment of Church funds in South Africa, an endowment of well over \$1 million will be necessary. "With the guidance of expert financial planners," chairman Lyn Johnson wrote to the UTO network in September, "we have come to recognize that the set-aside is the quickest and surest way to return wholly to the special tradition of the Offering that 'every coin given is, in turn, granted. "Moreover, if the Fund's earnings outstrip expenses, the "overflow" will be used to supplement grants for mission from the Offerings.

Meanwhile, Toombs has gone even further for UTO. She has given a separate gift to the ECW Board of the Diocese of New York, to ensure that all diocesan UTO costs will be covered — everything from Triennial travel expenses for the UTO treasurer to individual mailings to parish custodians.

Toombs has a long history of service to church and community in New York. She moved into the diocese in 1953; while a student at Sarah Lawrence College, she chaired the Young Episcopalians. A member of Christ Church, Rye, since 1959, and a volunteer mental health worker at New York Hospital in White Plains, she was also a member of the Rye Human Rights Commission from 1965-1985 and a member of the Rye City Board of Education from 1974-1984.

She served on the ECW Board of the Diocese of New York from 1977-1986 and was an ECW delegate to three Triennials. A year ago, Bishop Paul Moore appointed her as a member of the diocesan Commission on the Ministry of Women.

Contributions to the UTO Memorial and Gift Trust Fund can be made in the form of bequests, insurance policies or direct gifts of cash or securities. If you wish to create a perpetual memorial to a loved one or to recognize someone you honor, you may send your gift or write to The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, UTO Fund #852, 815 Second Avenue, New York, NY 10017. For further information, write or call Betty Clarke, 2645 Bexley Park Road, Columbus, OH 43209; (614) 236-1981.



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ORDINANDS' DEBTS:

A GRIM PICTURE

by Jean Allen Henderson

DPS 87031

NEW YORK (DPS, Feb. 5) -- How much does it cost an Episcopalian seeking ordination to the priesthood to receive the necessary seminary education and how is that affecting the Church's future priests?

The answers — and the resultant implications — form the basis of a research paper commissioned by the Board of Theological Education and the Church Pension Fund for the Council for Development of Ministry as presented to the Council last November. They point to concerns for the total Church community.

Although the full costs of three years at seminary vary according to the institution attended and the distance of it from the home diocese, the average yearly cost that is not covered by scholarships or grants amounts to \$14,890 for those over 42 years old and \$9,930 for those 41 and under.

The current ordinands polled report that the cost of tuition, housing, books and travel are not the total costs incurred. Nearly 75 percent reported holding educational loans averaging \$10,244 as they enter the ordained ministry. Ordinands saw the likelihood of repaying these loans within five years as being unlikely for 25 percent of single men; 39 percent of married men; 52 percent of single women; and 38 percent of married women.

For ordinands whose dioceses leave them free to make such a choice, nearly half reported that financial considerations affected their decision about what kind of position they had accepted or would accept.

The debate gets underway when comparing the ordinands' perception of diocesan help with financial planning for these costs with the perceptions of bishops. Approximately two-thirds of the bishops polled felt that postulants get sufficient help in financial planning for undertaking the cost of seminary and that current diocesan policies for financial support of postulants are good. Approximately two-thirds of the ordinands polled disagreed.



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An area of basic agreement is seen with 65 percent of the bishops and 75 percent of the ordinands agreeing that newly ordained priests do not get sufficient help in financial planning for the future work and retirement years.

In this area, however, the majority of ordinands expect at least three different sources of income during retirement. Almost a fifth expect to have five or more sources.

While in seminary, half of the postulants paid for their medical insurance themselves, while another 10 percent paid part of the cost of this coverage in conjunction with the seminary or the diocese. Only 12 percent were insured by their diocese or by their seminary, with the remaining 29 percent being covered by their spouse's employer.

Over two-thirds of the ordinands report discussing their financial support picture with either their bishops or Commissions on Ministry twice, at the most, during their entire postulancy and candidacy. A full third said they had never discussed these matters with their bishops. Seventy-nine percent reported never having discussed this with their Commissions on Ministry.

Comments such as, "The bishop was supportive when I talked with him, but we never talked about finances," or "Financial counselling was never really offered," were commonplace among the ordinands.

In response to a question asking ordinands how well supported by their dioceses they felt during the time they were in seminary, the range of responses yielded 25 percent who felt very well supported pastorally to 27 percent who felt little supported, or even pastorally ignored.

The research data suggests that those ordinands who felt most supported receive both pastoral and financial support from the diocese.

According to Dr. Adair Lummis, researcher for the study, "Debts, ability to repay loans, family finances and desire for an adequately comfortable lifestyle during the working years and on retirement have pervasive effects on the ministries and aspirations of the clergy just as they have on the laity.



"The demonic factor in this reality is not that it occurs for clergy, but that it is not seen as important in the ordained life," she continues. "Not recognizing the importance of such realities for clergy leads to not addressing critical financial problems of postulants and ordinands soon enough, or at all. Yet if these are not taken seriously, the potentiality of a postulant support crisis will be hastened rather than averted."

Indeed, in the first pages of the report is found one of the potential implications of the current situation: the broad question for the Church of whether the cost of seminary education is further creating a cadre of clergy from wealthy backgrounds and concomitantly decreasing the proportion from working class families is pivotal.

Another implication of the report yields "the grim picture of the single woman debtor." One of the reasons for this is similar to the overall secular reality of women as heads of households. "Whereas over three-fourths (77 percent) of the single women are <u>single parents</u> (77 percent with one or more children <u>at home</u>), this is true for <u>none</u> of the single men!

As a result of the report, the Council for Development of Ministry recommended that there be provision for financial review of candidates prior to acceptance. This has been forwarded to the national canon Title 3 Revision Committee. The full report is also being sent to bishops, Commissions on Ministry and the people who were surveyed.



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COMMUNICATORS SET JOINT

MEETING WITH CANADIANS

by Dick Snyder, Editor The Nevada Desert Church

DPS 87032

MONTREAL (DPS, Feb. 5) -- The annual conference of Episcopal Communicators will be held June 1-4, here, in conjunction with the annual conference of Canadian Editors, announced Ruth Nicastro, convenor of Episcopal Communicators.

The conference will consist of workshops for skills and current social issues.

"Working with the Canadians, we have put together an excellent conference which should be educational and stimulating," said Nicastro, who is editor of The Episcopal News of the Diocese of Los Angeles.

Site for the conference will be McGill University, which offers comfortable meeting rooms, a dining room and lodging near downtown Montreal.

"We are still working out details, but it appears that the conference will cost less than last year's," said Jan Pierce of <u>The Episcopalian</u>, who is chair of the U.S. planning committee for the conference.

Pierce noted that plans are being made for tours and trips after the completion of the conference, including a tour of Quebec.

There are some changes in the Polly Bond Award categories so that the categories are the same for both the Canadian and U.S. entries. All entries in both the U.S. and Canadian contests will be judged in Canada by Canadian journalists.

Print categories will be: general excellence, editorial writing, news feature, writing, photography, front page, use of artwork, regular column, series on a single subject and humor.

Electronic categories will be: feature for broadcast, feature for non-broadcast, public service announcement and multi-visual.

Dana Speer, editor of <u>Church Life</u> of the Diocese of Ohio, will again chair the Polly Bond contest.

"We can anticipate having more detailed information about the program speakers and the contest ready very soon," said Pierce. That material will be mailed directly to diocesan communicators and members of Episcopal Communicators.



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Anyone interested in joining Episcopal Communicators should contact the Rev. Burt Dougherty, treasurer, P.O. Box 6003, Alexandria, VA 22306. Annual membership fees are \$25.

"Those who attended the last meeting with the Canadians in 1983 reported they benefited in many ways, including making friends and receiving a larger vision of the Church.

"It appears that this year's participants will be exposed to the same kind of opportunities," said Pierce.

Ivor Shapiro, who was at the 1983 conference and was, at that time, editor of <u>Seek</u>, newspaper of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, will be a workshop leader.

His wife, the Rev. Erica Shapiro, will be conference chaplain.

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WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES STATEMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

- 1. The situation in southern Africa and the Frontline States [which border it] is today characterized by a sharpening of conflict and an intensification of the struggle for liberation and justice. The mounting repression and violence in South Africa and Nambia, especially in the period following the declaration of a state of emergency on 12 June 1986 by the apartheid regime, have created further world-wide concern and attracted almost daily headlines in the media.
- 2. In South Africa, a virtual military takeover has taken place with the establishment of the State Security Council (SCC) as the highest decision-making body of the racist regime. The black townships have become totally militarized, occupied by soldiers and police. Severe media censorship has also been imposed. In Namibia similar cruel and inhuman treatment of the populace remains the rule of the day. South Africa continues to flout international public opinion by its persistent refusal to help implement UN resolution 435 which provides for Namibian independence. In both countries increasing unemployment among non-whites reflects a worsening economy and creates more pain and suffering.
- 3. The plight of children and youth in southern Africa has caused international outrage. They have been arbitrarily detained, tortured with electric shocks and shot from the back. Former detainees are taken to "reorientation camps" where they are subjected to a program of brain-washing. Half the children born in the Bantustans [black "homelands" declared independent by South Africa] die of malnutrition and curable diseases before the age of five. Infant mortality for black children in Namibia is eight times that of white children. In both countries millions of children are denied access to education, decent housing and basic health care in sharp contrast to their white counterparts who receive compulsory education and 10 times more the benefits of the government education expenditures.
- 4. The destablization of the Frontline States and the neighboring countries continues unabated. South Africa, with the assistance of its surrogates, targets the infrastructure of these countries for destruction. It has caused an astronomical US\$ 10 billion damage to their economies. Destabilization, committed without regard for international law, not only created political instability in the Frontline States, but also weakens the latter's ability to provide vital services to the victims of the apartheid regime and the liberation movements.
- 5. In the wake of such atrocities, Christians and churches both inside and outside southern Africa have strengthened their resolve to hasten the fall of this evil system. They continue to work for a united, free and democratic South Africa and for Namibian independence by taking new and bold measures to bring apartheid to an end. ...[On South Africa, the Central Committee:]



- 7. (a) <u>reaffirms</u> its conviction that apartheid stands condemned by the gospel of Jesus Christ and that justice and peace in southern Africa depends on the eradication of this racist and evil system;
- 8. (b) expresses again its support and admiration for the courageous life and witness of the churches and leaders of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and other churches including the Roman Catholic church, for their sacrificial efforts to be peacemakers and for serving as a national rallying point for combating apartheid and for their ministry to their victims of oppression and their families;
- 9. (c) <u>condemns</u> the declaration of a state of emergency of 12 June 1986 and the subsequent military takeover of the black townships as another escalation of violence and oppression impending a non-violent resolution to the conflict;
- 10. (d) <u>views</u> the media censorship as a means of hiding from world public opinion the atrocities perpetuated by the regime's own agencies and security forces:
- 11. (e) expresses grave concern at the mounting incidence of arrest and detention without charge, torture, extra-judicial executions and plundering of property, committed with impunity by soldiers, death squads and vigilantes, and at the disappearance of 40 to 50 thousand people from the black townships since June 1985;
- 12. (f) strongly denounces the increasing practice of targeting children and youth as victims of torture during detention, murder and brain-washing and the continued denial of their right to adequate food, shelter and education;
- 13. (g) <u>demands</u> the Southern African regime immediately to lift the state of emergency and release in particular the 4,000 children and youth who are still held, all political prisoners and other detainees, and permit the return of exiles; ...

[On Namibia, the committee:]

- 14. (h) gives thanks to God for the prophetic witness and courageous stand of the Christian Council of Namibia (CCN) and its member churches for human dignity, justice, and liberation in Namibia.
- 15. (i) condemns also the installation of the so-called transitional government in Namibia as a delaying tactic and another attempt to by-pass UN resolution 435 which it reaffirms as the only basis for peace—more—

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and independence in Namibia and expresses its support for the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia;

- 16. (j) <u>denounces</u> the perpetuation of repressive violence waged in Namibia by the South African Defence Force and its surrogates, the destruction of church property and the harassment, imprisonment, torture and killing of the clergy and the people of Nambia;
- 17. (k) <u>calls</u> on the international community, in particular the United States administration, to reject the linking of the UN plan for Namibian independence to an extraneous issue which has no bearing on the Namibian people's right to self-determination, and <u>urges</u> the US churches to redouble their advocacy in this regard. ...

[The document concludes with sections on the Frontline States, sanctions, and and 12 "recommendations to the churches."

[These include that they "continue to campaign for divestment and withdrawal, and to support the SACC's call to make rescheduling of South African debt in April 1987 dependent on the resignation of the Botha government," to "make contributions to and increase financial support for the WCC Special Fund [to Combat Racism], the liberation movements recognized by the UN, and all the other institutions which are actively combating apartheid," and to prepare Sunday school material on "the consequences of apartheid."